

Paradise Interpreted

Representations of Biblical Paradise in
Judaism and Christianity

by

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BRILL
LEIDEN • BOSTON
1999

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PARADISE: FROM PERSIA, VIA GREECE, INTO THE *SEPTUAGINT*

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The first chapters of *Genesis* mention a landscaped, enclosed park, full of fruit-trees, planted by God himself, with a river running through it and possibilities for walking. The translators of the *Septuagint* have called this park *paradeisos*.¹ The enormous impact of the Biblical description of Paradise has been often studied and its main lines are now well known.² Less familiar is the development of the term “paradise” itself. Recent studies are not really very informative in this respect. According to Joachim Jeremias, *paradeisos* is an Old Iranian (“Altiranisches”) loan word which first means “tree garden”, “park” and is subsequently used to denote the Garden of Eden as “*Gottesgarten*” in order to distinguish it from profane parks.³ Although his explanation, which is representative for most modern approaches to the problem, is not totally wrong, it is not really fully right either. In order to provide a more exact answer to this question I will look at the term in the early Achaemenid period (§ 1), the later Achaemenid period (§ 2) and at its development in the post-Achaemenid era (§ 3), and conclude with a discussion as to why the translators of *Genesis* opted for this specific word to translate the Hebrew term *Gan Eden* (§ 4).

1. *The early Achaemenid era*

The etymology of Greek *paradeisos* is not disputed. It most likely derives from Median **paridaeza*, “enclosure”, **pari* being “around”

¹ The basis of any investigation of the term must now be the rich study of C. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* (Stuttgart, 1996) 80–131 (“The Parks and Gardens of the Achaemenid Empire”), to which I am heavily indebted. The implicit enclosure of *Genesis* is made explicit in the *Apocalypse of Moses* 17.1; *bKetubbot* 77b; *bShabbath* 119b; *Vita Adam* 31.2, 40.2.

² See especially J. Delumeau, *Une histoire du paradis*, 2 vls. (Paris, 1992–1995); Ch. Auffarth, *Mittelalterliche Eschatologie* (Göttingen, 1999) Ch. 2.

³ J. Jeremias, “*paradeisos*”, *ThWNT* 5 (Stuttgart, 1954) 763–71.

and **daeza* "wall".⁴ As more often, the Greeks took their words from the Medes rather than from the Persians, just as, e.g., Greek *satrapes* is the Median form of this Iranian title.⁵ Like its Old Persian equivalent **paridaida*,⁶ the Median form is not attested in the few surviving Old Persian texts and it is unlikely that it will ever turn up in Median writings, since the Medes never seem to have developed a script;⁷ however, the Median form does recur in the later Avestan *Videvdat* as *paridaeza* (3.18).

The occurrence of such a Median term as loanword in Greek, and, as we soon shall see, Akkadian, Hebrew and Aramaic, is one more testimony to the influence of the enigmatic Medians. The tribe itself has left very little traces and its early history is hard to reconstruct, but the fact that the Greeks called their formidable Eastern opponents first Medes and only later Persians, attests to their former importance; similarly, the Jews speak of Medes in *Isaiah* (13.17, 21.2) and *Jeremiah* (51.1, 28), but of Medes and Persians only in the post-exilic books of *Ezra*, *Nehemiah*, *Esther* and *Daniel*.⁸ The increasing attention to linguistic derivations, which has become possible with the growing insight into the Median and Persian dialects, will perhaps shed more light on this problem in the future.⁹

If its linguistic and etymological background is clear, the precise semantics of the term are more problematic. Given the absence of early Iranian material we will have to take recourse to its use as loanword in more or less contemporary Akkadian and Elamite texts in order to reconstruct its meaning in the oldest period of the Persian, multicultural empire. We start with the Babylonian texts.

Virtually immediately after the Persian capture of Babylon in 539

⁴ For other examples of Iranian *-ae-* into Greek *-ei-* see R. Schmitt, *Die Iraner-Namen bei Aischylos* (Vienna, 1978) 29.

⁵ R. Schmitt, "Der Titel 'Satrap'," in A. Morpurgo-Davies and W. Meid (eds.), *Studies in Greek, Italic and Indo-European Linguistics offered to L.R. Palmer* (Innsbruck, 1976) 373–90; J. and L. Robert, *Fouilles d'Amyzon en Carie* (Paris, 1983) 98f.

⁶ P. Lecoq, "Paradis en vieux-perse?", in F. Vallat (ed.), *Contribution à l'histoire de l'Iran. Mélanges offerts à Jean Perrot* (Paris, 1990) 209–11.

⁷ R. Schmitt (ed.), *Compendium linguarum Iranicarum* (Wiesbaden, 1989) 87–90 ("Medisch"); M. Mayrhofer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften II* (Wiesbaden, 1996) 390–2.

⁸ D.F. Graf, "Medism", *J. of Hell. Stud.* 104 (1984) 15–30; C. Tuplin, "Persians as Medes", in A. Kuhrt and M. Root (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 8 (1994) 235–256, who also discusses the occurrence of Medes in other languages (236–8).

⁹ The short observations by Tuplin, "Persians as Medes", 252 n. 20 are insufficient, the more so since he does not call attention to the problem of the *Verschriftlichung* of the Median language.

we find three Babylonian documents of the last decades of the sixth century,¹⁰ in which temple authorities are responsible for maintaining and establishing *pardesu*. One of these is a vineyard, another is associated with planting date-palms and making bricks, and a loan document of 465/4 BC mentions an "upper *pardesu*" (i.e. at the upper side).¹¹

We find more information in only slightly later Elamite texts. After the fall of the Elamite empire in the seventh century, the Persians settled on its former territory and kept Elamite as the official language of their bureaucracy in Persis until about 460. In the thirties of this century excavators found hundreds of clay tablets in Elamite in Persepolis which, depending on their place of finding, were published as *Persepolis Treasury Tablets (PTT)* and *Persepolis Fortification Tablets (PFT)*.¹² The former, 114 in all, can be dated to the period between 492 and 460 BC, when clay was probably given up in favour of parchment. From the latter more than 2000 have now been published, belonging to the years between 510 and 494 BC. It is especially in the *PFT*, which have been identified as tax-receipts,¹³ that we regularly find mention of something called *partetas*, which the authoritative Elamite dictionary considers as corresponding to Old Persian **paridaida*.¹⁴ From the texts there emerge the following meanings. *Partetas* figure as storage places for natural produce, such as

¹⁰ For the Persian influence in Babylon see A. Kuhrt, "Achaemenid Babylonia: Sources and Problems", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 4 (Leiden, 1990) 177-94.

¹¹ *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets in the British Museum* 22.198is (Sippar: early Cyrus), which is perhaps the same as that in J.N. Strassmaier, *Inschriften von Cyrus, König von Babylon* (Leipzig, 1890) 212 (Sippar: 534 BC); *Yale Oriental Series* 3.133 (Uruk: 539/526 BC), cf. Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 113; M.W. Stolper, *Entrepreneurs and Empire* (Istanbul, 1985) 283 no. 120 (= CBS 13039: Nippur: 465/4 BC). For these texts see M. Dandamayev, "Royal *paradeisoi* in Babylonia", *Acta Iranica* II 9 (Leiden, 1984) 113-7. It is interesting that a country *Pardesu* is mentioned in a late writing exercise (probably ca. 85 BC), cf. T.G. Pinches, "Assyriological gleanings", *Proc. Soc. Bibl. Arch.* 18 (1896) 250-7, after p. 256, Plate III, AH 83-1-18, 1866 Reverse Column V. 15-7.

¹² For the standard editions see G. Cameron, *Persepolis Treasury Tablets* (Chicago, 1948) and "New Tablets from the Persepolis Treasury", *JNES* 24 (1965) 167-92; R.T. Hallock, *Persepolis Fortification Tablets* (Chicago, 1969) and "Selected Fortification Texts", *Cahiers de la Délégation Française en Iran* 8 (1978) 106-36.

¹³ H. Koch, "Steuern in der achämenidischen Persis?", *Zs. f. Assyriologie* 70 (1980) 105-37.

¹⁴ W. Hinz and H. Koch, *Elamisches Wörterbuch* (Berlin, 1987) I.160; similarly already R.G. Kent, *Old Persian* (New Haven, 1953²) 195.

figs, dates, peaches, apricots, pomegranates and “royal grain”, mostly fairly close to Persepolis. It could also be the place in which a food-product, *kar*, was made. Although the size of a *partetas* was rather modest, it was large enough to contain sheep for a celebration of a religious ceremony, perhaps a sacrifice to Ahuramazda. Finally, there is a clear connection with trees. One tablet inventories 6,166 seedlings at five places, including three *partetas*, in which there are also 4931 trees.¹⁵ The prominence of trees may be surprising, but the Persians attached great value to trees. This is already illustrated by a letter from Darius I to Gadatas, probably the overseer of a local “paradise”, the *paradeisarios*, a term which recurs in Syrian as *pardayspana*, in the oldest Armenian texts as *partizpan*, and in the New Persian epic *Shanameh* as *palezban*.¹⁶ In the letter the king praises Gadatas for cultivating in Western Asia Minor the fruit trees of Syria and berates him for taxing the sacred gardeners of Apollo and ordering them to till profane soil.¹⁷ A certain Pythios, perhaps the grandson of Croesus, gave Darius a golden vine and plane-tree, which remained very famous until they were melted down by Antigonos in 316 BC.¹⁸ When finding a fine plane tree a day east of Sardis, Xerxes decorated it with gold and appointed a perpetual guardian (Herodotus 7.31; Aelian, *Varia historia* 2.14). Cyrus the Younger showed Lysander the *paradeisos* at Sardis and claimed to have personally planted some trees (§ 2). Strabo, who probably goes back to fourth-century sources, even mentions that during their education the Persian boys “late in the afternoon are trained in the planting of trees” (15.3.18). It is surely this great concern with trees which made Plutarch relate that Artaxerxes II once gave permission to his soldiers, when they were very cold, to fell trees in *paradeisoi* (§ 2) “without saving pines or cypresses”, while

¹⁵ I summarize here the detailed discussions by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 93–96, 178–82; P. Briant, *Histoire de l'empire perse de Cyrus à Alexandre I* (Paris, 1996 = Leiden, 1997) 456–8; A. Uchitel, “Persian Paradise: agricultural texts in the fortification tablets”, *Iranica Antiqua* 32 (1997) 137–44.

¹⁶ *Paradeisarios*: Hesychius, s.v. *hernokomon*. Syrian: R. Payne Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus* II (Oxford, 1901) c. 3240 (*horti custos*); K. Brockelman, *Lexicon Syriacum* (Halle, 1928) 593b (*horticultor*). Armenian: H. Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik* I (Leipzig, 1897) 229. New Persian: *Shanameh* 3.1504.

¹⁷ R. Meiggs and D. Lewis, *A Selection of Greek Historical Inscriptions to the End of the Fifth Century BC* (Oxford, 1980²) no. 12; SEG 36.1042; Briant, *Histoire*, 507–9 (function of Gadatas).

¹⁸ Herodotus 7.27; Xenophon, *Hellenica* 7.1.38; Chares *FGrH* 125 F 2; Amyntas *FGrH* 122 F 6; Phylarchus *FGrH* 81 F 41; Diodorus Siculus 19.48.7; Pliny, *Natural History* 33.137; Himerius, *Eclogae* 31.8; Photius, *Bibliothèque* 612.

he himself felled the largest and most attractive tree (*Artaxerxes* 25).¹⁹

We can now draw our first conclusions. In the early Persian Empire two closely related words were current for "paradise": Median **paridazea* and Old Persian **paridaida*. The latter was adopted in the Elamite *Kanzleisprache*, the former by Babylonians, Greeks and Jews (§ 2). Secondly, early Iranian "paradise" had no fixed meaning. It could be a storage-place, vineyard, orchard, stable, forest or nursery of trees. Evidently, it was a kind of *vox media* of which the most prominent element was the enclosure. Thirdly, none of these descriptions closely fits the Garden of Eden yet.

2. The later Achaemenid period

Having looked at the earliest occurrences of the word, let us now turn to its examples in the later Achaemenid era. The connection between trees and "paradise", which we noted in the Elamite *partetas*, recurs in the *Old Testament*, where in *Nehemiah* the homonymous protagonist requests building wood "to make beams for gates of the palace" (2.8) from the overseer of the king's *pardes*. The passage seems to derive from Nehemiah's original memoir, which dates from the second half of the fifth century, and thus is a valuable testimony to the presence of Persian "paradises" not only in Anatolia but also elsewhere in the Persian empire. Nehemiah does not mention the location of his "paradise", but it may have been situated in Lebanon.²⁰ King Solomon imported cedars from Lebanon for the building of the temple (1 *Kings* 5); carpenters from the region are already well attested in Babylon in the early sixth century, and in 538 BC the royal administration ordered the Sidonians and Tyrians to bring cedars from Lebanon.²¹ Trees also figure in the *Song of Songs*, which

¹⁹ On trees and the Persian king see Briant, *Histoire* II, 244–50 (with interesting illustrations from Persian seals), who also points to the Vulgate version of *Esther* 1.5 where the feast is celebrated in the court of the *horti et nemoris quod regio cultu et manu consitum erat*. For comparable medieval connections between kings and gardens see Th. Finkenstaedt, "Der Garten des Königs", in H. Bauer et al. (eds.), *Wandlungen des Paradiesischen und Utopischen* (Berlin, 1966) 183–209.

²⁰ Thus Briant, *Histoire*, 433 and many commentaries. However, other possibilities, such as the forests near Jericho, cannot be excluded.

²¹ Ph. Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions de Sardes* (Geneva, 1989) 22–32; R. Zadok, "Foreigners and Foreign Linguistic Material in Mesopotamia and Egypt", in K. van Lerberghe and A. Schoors (eds.), *Immigration and Emigration within the Ancient Near East* (Louvain, 1995) 431–47 at 432f.

was perhaps written in Jerusalem around 400 BC.²² Here we find a “*pardes* of pomegranates, with pleasant fruits; camphire with spike-nard, spikenard and saffron; calamus and cinnamon, with all trees of frankincense” (4.13–14).

There is a chance that *paradeisos* already appeared in Greek literature in the later fifth century. According to the Aristotelian pupil Clearchus, the sixth-century Samian tyrant Polycrates of Samos used to imitate the luxury of the Lydians and even had “constructed in the city the famous ‘(Red-light) Quarter’ of Samos to rival the park at Sardis called Sweet Embrace”.²³ The passage probably derives from Clearchus’ *Lives* where he relates: “The Lydians in their luxury laid out *paradeisoi*, making them like parks and so lived in the shade . . . they would gather the wives and maiden daughters of other men into the place called, because of this action, Place of Chastity, and there outrage them”.²⁴ As Clearchus elsewhere in this passage must have used the Lydian historian Xanthus,²⁵ an older contemporary of Herodotus, it seems not unlikely that Clearchus also derived his information about Polycrates from Xanthus. If this is true, it means that Xanthus was perhaps the first Greek to use the term *paradeisos* in writing. This would not be unlikely, since being a Lydian he may well have known the Sardian *paradeisoi* (below) personally.

Unfortunately, the passage is not crystal clear. The most likely interpretation seems to be that in order to enjoy the shade the Sardians laid out *paradeisoi*. As befitted *paradeisoi* (§ 1 and below), they consisted of trees, but the Sardians apparently had transformed them into a more cultivated environment than the normal Persian ones (below), with perhaps pavilions to receive their “guests”. In any case, there was a house and a place with a canopied bed in the Babylonian *paradeisos* where Alexander the Great died,²⁶ and pavilions long

²² For the date see A. Robert *et al.*, *Le Cantique des Cantiques* (Paris, 1963) 20–22. Admittedly, this is only a reasonable guess, but in any case more persuasive than M.H. Pope, *Song of Songs* (New York, 1977) 22–33.

²³ Clearchus, fr. 44 Wehrli = Athenaeus 12.540, translated by C.B. Gulick, Loeb, cf. P. Briant, “Chasses royales macédoniennes et chasses royales perses: le thème de la chasse au lion sur la *Chasse de Vergina*”, *Dialogues d'histoire ancienne* 17 (1991) 211–55 at 235 n. 45.

²⁴ Clearchus, fr. 43a = Athenaeus 12.515e, translated by C.B. Gulick, Loeb.

²⁵ As is observed by Wehrli *ad loc.* who compares Eusthatius on *Iliad* 16.702 = Xanthus *FGrH* 765 F 4c.

²⁶ The Macedonian royal Diaries in *FGrH* 117 F 3; Ephippos *FGrH* F 4; Arrian, *Anabasis*, 7.25; for more examples of buildings in *paradeisoi* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 107.

remained a characteristic feature of Persian parks.²⁷ At first sight it may be surprising that Clearchus speaks of *paradeisoi* in the plural, but the texts frequently speak of multiple *paradeisoi*. Some earlier examples are, presumably, the *paradeisoi* in Susa (Aelian, *Natura animalium* 7.1), the wild parks (below) of Pharnabazus (Xenophon, *Hellenica* 4.1.15, 33), the hunting *paradeisoi* given to Demetrius Poliorcetes in his place of exile (Plutarch, *Demetrius* 50) and the Syrian cypress-*paradeisoi* mentioned by Theophrastus (*Historia Plantarum* 5.8.1).

We move on firmer ground in the fourth century when we find the first certain occurrences of the term *paradeisos* in the works of Xenophon.²⁸ Unfortunately, the chronology of his works is not very clear, but it seems reasonable to start with the *Cyropaedia*, a novel-like book in which Xenophon displays much of his knowledge of the Persian empire. Here he lets Astyages tell his grandson, the future Cyrus the Great: "I will give you all the game present in the *paradeisos* and collect many more, which you, as soon as you have learnt to ride, may pursue" (1.3.14). In fact, Cyrus proved to be such an enthusiastic hunter in the *paradeisos* that his grandfather was unable to collect enough animals for him (1.4.5): not surprisingly, since it was only a small one (1.4.11). Astyages' insistence on the hunt had evidently left a big impression on Cyrus, for he ordered his satraps to "lay out *paradeisoi* and breed game" (8.6.12), and when he had acceded to the throne "he would lead those nobles, whom he thought in need of it, out to the hunt in order to train them in the art of war, since he considered the hunt by far the best preparation for war . . . and whenever he was bound to stay at home, he would hunt game reared in the *paradeisoi*" (8.1.34–8).

We receive a more detailed picture of a specific *paradeisos* in the *Oeconomicus* through an anecdote which goes back to Lysander's own report according to Xenophon. When Cyrus the Younger showed the Spartan Lysander his *paradeisoi* in Sardis, Lysander admired "the

²⁷ D. Wilber, *Persian Gardens & Garden Pavilions* (Rutland and Tokyo, 1962); W.L. Hanaway, "Paradise on Earth: The Terrestrial Garden in Persian Literature" and R. Pinder-Wilson, "The Persian Garden: *Bagh* and *Chahar Bagh*", in R. Ettinghausen et al., *The Islamic Garden* (Washington DC, 1976) 41–67 and 69–85, respectively; S. Bianca, *Hofhaus und Paradiesgarten. Architektur und Lebensformen in der islamischen Welt* (Munich, 1991) 108–23; T.S. Kawami, "Antike persische Gärten", in M. Carroll-Spillecke (ed.), *Der Garten von der Antike bis zum Mittelalter* (Mainz, 1992) 81–99; A.R. Littlewood, "Gardens of the Palaces", in H. Maguire (ed.), *Byzantine Court Culture from 320 to 1204* (Washington DC, 1997) 13–38.

²⁸ C. Schuler, *Ländliche Siedlungen und Gemeinden im hellenischen und römischen Kleinasien* (Munich, 1998) 123–5, does not offer anything new.

grandeur of the trees, the uniform distances at which they were planted, the straightness of the rows of the trees, the beautiful regularity of all the angles and the number and sweetness of the odours that accompanied them as they walked around".²⁹ Cyrus was not the only one to have *paradeisoi* in Sardis. Tissaphernes, the satrap of Sardis during Xenophon's Persian service, had a *paradeisos* in the same region, which he called Alcibiades because of the latter's charm.³⁰ His *paradeisos* contained a river and had been laid out at great expense with plants, meadows and "all other things that contribute to luxury and peaceful pleasure".³¹ A Sardian third-century tax inscription also mentions the gift of two *paradeisoi*, which had once been given by King Antioch, to a temple.³² Tissaphernes had another house in Tralles and recently published evidence suggests that he there also owned a *paradeisos*—in any case, epigraphical evidence attests to a place called Paradeisos there in the third century BC.³³

Xenophon supplies additional information about specific *paradeisoi* in the *Anabasis*, the report of his wanderings as a mercenary in the Anatolian part of the Achaemenid Empire, which dates from the first decades of the fourth century. In Kelainai, the capital of Greater Phrygia, he saw the palace of Cyrus the Younger and "a large *paradeisos* full of wild animals, which he (Cyrus) hunted on horseback whenever he wanted to exercise himself and his horses."³⁴ The Maeander River flows through the middle of the *paradeisos*" (1.2.7). Further to the west Cyrus' army found the "very large and fine *paradeisos* with everything which the seasons produce" of Belesys, the satrap of Syria, which Cyrus had "chopped down"; the term clearly suggests the

²⁹ Xenophon, *Oeconomicus* 4.20–5 (quoted by Cicero, *De senectute* 17.59), translated by J. Thompson and B.J. Hayes. For Persian presence and influence in Lydia see N.V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid colonization in Lydia", *R. Et. Anc.* 87 (1985) 7–29; Briant, *Histoire*, 721–5.

³⁰ See also T. Petit, "Alcibiade et Tissapherne", *Les Etudes Classiques* 65 (1997) 137–51.

³¹ Plutarch, *Alcibiades* 24; Diodorus Siculus 14.80.2 (quote).

³² W.H. Buckler and D.M. Robinson, *Sardis* VII.1 (Leiden, 1932) no. I.1, 15, 16, cf. K. Atkinson, "A Hellenistic Land-conveyance", *Historia* 21 (1972) 45–74.

³³ Xenophon, *Hellenica* 3.2.12; *I. Tralles* 250.19, cf. R. Descat, "Le paradis de Tissapherne", *DATA. Achaemenid History Newsletter* 1, April (1992) Note 6. For other toponyms called *Paradeisos* see Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 99f.; add W. Günther, "Inchriften von Didyma", *Istanbuler Mitteilungen* 21 (1971) 97–108, no. 1.

³⁴ For Persian presence in Greater Phrygia see N.V. Sekunda, "Achaemenid settlement in Caria, Lycia and Greater Phrygia", in H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg and A. Kuhrt (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 6 (1991) 83–143; Briant, *Histoire*, 725–7.

presence of trees (1.4.10).³⁵ A similar type of *paradeisos*, "large, fine, and thick with all kind of trees", was situated in Babylon near the Tigris (2.4.14, 16).

Finally, in the work of his old age, the *Hellenica*, Xenophon lets us meet Pharnabazus, the hereditary satrap of Hellespontine Phrygia, in his capital Daskyleion.³⁶ Here the Persian had his palace and "very fine wild animals, some in enclosed *paradeisoi*, some in the open country. A river full of all kinds of fish ran past the place" (4.1.15–6). However, this idyllic area had not escaped the ravages of war, but, as Pharnabazus complains, "my father left me fine buildings and *paradeisoi* full with trees and wild animals, in which I delighted, but I see all of that cut down and burned down" (4.1.33).³⁷

Our last example comes from the Roman antiquarian Gellius. When discussing the word *vivarium* he quotes Varro, the most learned Roman of the Late Republic, that "*vivaria*, the term now used for certain enclosures in which wild animals are kept alive and fed, were once called *leporaria*".³⁸ Of these *vivaria* Gellius adds that the Greeks call them *paradeisoi* (2.20.1, 4). We have no idea as to how Gellius acquired this knowledge, but given the paucity of references to wild animals in *paradeisoi* in the post-Achaemenid period he will have derived his information, directly or indirectly, from a Hellenistic, perhaps historiographical source.

What have we learned so far about these "paradises"? First, the passages in *Nehemiah* and the *Songs of Songs* seem to suggest that, in addition to the hunting *paradeisoi* attested by Xenophon, other meanings

³⁵ For Belesys see now M. Stolper, "The Babylonian Enterprise of Belesys", *Pallas* 43 (1995) 217–38.

³⁶ For recent excavations see D. Kaptan-Bayburthuoglu, "A group of seal-impressions on the bullae from Ergili/Daskyleion", *Epigraphica Anatolica* 16 (1990) 15–26; T. Bakir, "Archäologische Beobachtungen über die Residenz in Daskyleion", *Pallas* 43 (1995) 268–85. For Persians in the region see N.V. Sekunda, "Persian settlement in Hellespontine Phrygia", in A. Kuhrt and H. Sancisi-Weerdenburg (eds.), *Achaemenid History* 3 (1988) 175–96; Briant, *Histoire*, 718–20; for Persian elements in adjacent Mysia see M. Cremer, *Hellenistisch-Römische Grabstelen im nord-westlichen Kleinasien I* (Bonn, 1991); N.V. Sekunda, "Itabelis and the Satrapy of Mysia", *Am. J. of Anc. Hist.* 14 (1989 [1998!]) 73–102.

³⁷ For the possible location of the *paradeisos* see L. Robert, *Les noms indigènes*, 348–9 and *A travers l'Asie Mineure* (Paris, 1980) 269; V. Manfredi, *La strade dei diecimila* (Milano, 1986) 37.

³⁸ For these Roman wild parks see F. Olck, "Gartenbau", *RE* 7 (Stuttgart, 1912) 768–841 at 838. Note also that Cicero uses the term *viridarium*, a "pleasure-garden", in the context of the *Cyropaedia* (*Att.* 2.3.2).

of Persian “paradise”, such as orchard and place to grow trees, remained alive. Secondly, the early Greek *paradeisoi* are related to the Iranian ones only to a limited extent. They are not orchards, vineyards or storage-places—phenomena for which the Greeks of course had words of their own. On the other hand, as is stated explicitly in *Hellenica* 4.1.15, they were enclosed and in this respect they reflect their Iranian origin. Thirdly, they seem to be a relatively unknown phenomenon to the Greeks, since in his *Oeconomicus* Xenophon effectively glosses the term by saying that “there are parks, the so-called *paradeisoi*” wherever the king goes; in other passages the description sufficiently indicates the meaning of *paradeisos*.³⁹ Fourthly, these particular “paradises” were characterised by a modest size, vicinity to other ones,⁴⁰ the presence of animals, water (be it a river or a lake), the prominence of trees and, in general, by lush vegetation. Although such “paradises” have not yet turned up in Babylonian and Elamite texts, they were not absent from the Persian heartland, since the *paradeisos* in Susa was irrigated (Ctesias *FGrH* 688 F 34), and Cyrus’ tomb in Pasargadae was situated in a *paradeisos* with a grove “with all sorts of trees and irrigated, and deep grass had grown in the meadow”.⁴¹ Fifthly, these *paradeisoi* were the possession of the highest Persian aristocracy.⁴² Although he does not mention the term, Curtius Rufus clearly alludes to the *paradeisoi* when he calls the *mag-nos recessus amoenosque nemoribus manu consitis* of Media the *praecipua regum satraparumque voluptas* (7.2.22). They may therefore have become emblematic of Persian authority, as the choice by the Phoenicians in their revolt of 351 bc of the “royal *paradeisos*” for their first target seems to suggest.⁴³ Sixthly and finally, unlike the “paradise” in *Genesis*, the hunting *paradeisoi* were filled with wild animals and served the Persians to keep themselves into condition for war via hunting.

³⁹ As is observed by Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 120.

⁴⁰ So rightly Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111, with more examples.

⁴¹ Arrian, *Anabasis* 6.29.4 = Aristobulus *FGrH* 135 F 51, translated by P. Brunt, Loeb; D. Stronach, *Pasargadae* (Oxford, 1978) 108–12; *idem*, “The Royal Garden at Pasargadae: evolution and legacy”, in L. de Meyer and E. Haerinck (eds.), *Archeologia Iranica et orientalis* (Ghent, 1989) 475–502; *idem*, “The garden as a political statement: some case studies from the Near East in the first millennium BC”, *Bull. Asia Inst.* NS 4 (1990) 171–82; H. Koch, *Es kündigt Dareios der König...* (Mainz, 1992) 265–6; Briant, *Histoire*, 98f.

⁴² Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110; add Suda, S 1681.

⁴³ Fauth, “Der königliche Gärtner”, 7, overlooked by M. Miller, *Athens and Persia in the fifth century BC* (Cambridge, 1997) 124.

3. *The post-Achaemenid times*

After the fall of the Achaemenid empire the hunting *paradeisoi* quickly disappeared, since the hunt did not play the same role in the life of Alexander the Great and his successors as it did among the Persian magnates. Only the already quoted *paradeisoi* of Demetrius Poliorcetes in the immediate post-Achaemenid era still remind us of the traditional hunting *paradeisoi*. However, other *paradeisoi* continued to exist, but without the wild animals. We can note this change already fairly early in the third century, since in 246 BC the small Cretan polis of Itanos dedicated a “holy *temenos*” near the gate, presumably a kind of public garden, as *paradeisos* to Ptolemy III (246–221).⁴⁴ This surely was not a hunting park. Neither, presumably, were the *paradeisoi* attached to royal residences, which are mentioned in a late third-century papyrus from Tebtunis;⁴⁵ other combinations of palaces and parks, as listed below, clearly suggest that these *paradeisoi* were parks as well. In the third- and second-century *Septuagint*,⁴⁶ *paradeisos* is connected with water (*Numeri* 24.6; *Isaiah* 1.30) and trees (*Ezekiel* 31.8,9), strongly contrasted with the desert (*Isaiah* 51.3) and other desolate places (*Joel* 2.3),⁴⁷ and a sign of great wealth (*Ezekiel* 28.13), but nowhere do we hear about animals. In *Ecclesiastes*, which seems to date from the third century BC, Solomon says: “I have made me gardens and *pardesim*, and I planted trees in them of all kind of fruits” (2.5). As in the already mentioned case of the *Song of Songs*, modern translations use “orchard”, and indeed, in modern Hebrew the word for “orchard” is *pardes*.

Early examples of “paradisiac” orchards probably occur in a demotic Egyptian text, which is a translation of a lost Greek original.

⁴⁴ *I. Creticae* III.IV.4.8. For this and similar donations see Ch. Habicht, *Gottmenschen und griechische Städte* (Munich, 1970²) 121f, 146 n. 29; Gauthier, *Nouvelles inscriptions*, 61f. For such *temenē* see M. Carroll-Spillecke, *Kēpos: Der antike griechische Garten* (Munich, 1989) 34–8; V. Karageorghis and M. Carroll-Spillecke, “Die heiligen Haine und Gärten Zyperns”, in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 141–52.

⁴⁵ *P. Tebt.* 3.1.703.211f.: *tôn basilikôn oikēseōn kai tōn pros tautais paradeisōn*. Note also the *basilikos kēpos* in *PSI* V.488.12 (257 BC) and the gift of the Sardinian *paradeisoi* by King Antioch (§ 2).

⁴⁶ For the date of the translation of the individual books of the *Septuagint* see M. Hengel, “Die Septuaginta als ‘christliche Schriftensammlung’, ihre Vorgeschichte und das Problem ihres Kanons”, in M. Hengel and A.M. Schwemer (eds.), *Die Septuaginta zwischen Judentum und Christentum* (Tübingen, 1994) 182–284 at 236–51.

⁴⁷ The contrast of *paradeisos* and desert recurs in *P. Lond.* 2043; *UPZ* 114 I 10, II 10, 33, 37.

In this comprehensive survey of Egypt under Ptolemy II (308–246) in 258 BC a census was ordered of "... the embankments that are ploughed and cultivated, specifying orchard by orchard the trees with their fruits", that is, presumably, the various *paradeisoi*.⁴⁸ More orchards can be found in later documentary papyri from Egypt, which contain numerous references to *paradeisoi*.⁴⁹ These "paradises" will have been utilitarian gardens, since their average size is extremely small, mostly less than a hectare. It is therefore not surprising that we occasionally hear about them being sold or bought, such as the *paradeisoi* bought "from the state" (*P. Tebt.* I.5.99: 118 BC) or the "royal *paradeisos*" bought by an Apollonius in 235 BC (*P. Tebt.* III.1.701.175f.). Although these *paradeisoi* can supply a considerable amount of bricks,⁵⁰ they often contain various kinds of trees, from fig-trees to conifers, in addition to the fruit-trees. Olives and palms must have been common, since we regularly find an *elaiônoparadeisos*, a *phoinikoparadeisos* and, perhaps inevitably, an *elaiônophoinikoparadeisos*. These Egyptian *paradeisoi* normally also have basins and wells. The *Wisdom of Ben-Sira*, which was written in Egypt in the early second century BC and translated into Greek towards the end of the same century, well illustrates their irrigation by actually mentioning "a water channel into a *paradeisos*" (24.30). Although these smaller Egyptian *paradeisoi* do not contain rivers or possibilities for walking, they must have been attractive enough for *Ben-Sira* to state that "kindness" and "fear of the Lord" are "like a *paradeisos*" (40.17, 27).⁵¹

The connection of Solomon with *paradeisoi* in the *Song of Songs* and *Ecclesiastes* may have helped later generations to identify certain *paradeisoi* with those of famous kings. In any case, Josephus mentions that Solomon's *paradeisos* at Etan contained flowing streams (*AJ* 8.186)

⁴⁸ I quote from the English translation of a provisional Italian version in S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the battle of Ipsos to the death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge, 1985) 97f. The original text has now been published by E. Bresciani, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 6 (1983) 15ff., to be read with the important corrections by K.-Th. Zauzich, "Von Elephantine bis Sambehdet", *Enchoria* 12 (1984) 193f.

⁴⁹ These orchards may continue older Egyptian gardens, cf. C.J. Eyre, "The Water Regime for Orchards and Plantations in Pharaonic Egypt", *J. Egypt. Arch.* 80 (1994) 57–80. Add to his bibliography of Egyptian gardens (p. 58 n. 7): J.-C. Hugonot, "Ägyptische Gärten", in Carroll-Spillecke, *Der Garten*, 9–44, who stresses the erotic aspect of the "Lustgarten".

⁵⁰ *PCZ* 59825.14 mentions a consignment of 10,000 bricks.

⁵¹ Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 97–99 (small size), 102 n. 79 (water), 104–5 (trees, word coinages).

and near Jerusalem there was a spring in King David's *paradeisos* (A $\mathfrak{J}$ 7.347), which was perhaps different from the royal "paradise" four stades from Jerusalem (A $\mathfrak{J}$ 9.225). Hyrcanus (135–104 bc) followed his royal "predecessors" or Ptolemaic contemporaries by constructing a *paradeisos* 17 km west of Amman, the present Araq el Emir (A $\mathfrak{J}$ 12.233).⁵² Near Jericho there were also "very dense and beautiful *paradeisoi*" spread throughout an area of some 45 square kilometers with many nice trees, palms, cypresses and, especially, balsam.⁵³ And just as Xenophon enhanced the beauty of Pharnabazus' *paradeisos* by letting him bewail its loss, so Josephus illustrates the desolation of Judaea after the Jewish revolt by mentioning the Roman destruction of the *paradeisoi* (B $\mathfrak{J}$ 6.6).

Pardes also recurs in some Aramaic fragments of the Dead Sea scrolls. In an early second-century fragment of 1 Enoch we read about the *Pardes* of Justice, a place with many trees (4Q206 3 21 = 1 Enoch 32.3, also mentioned in 4Q209 23 9), including the Tree of Wisdom as we can read in the more fuller preserved Ethiopian version. And in a very fragmentary text from the *Book of Giants*, which dates of the time of the beginning of the first century,⁵⁴ there survives only a reference to "this *pardes*, all of it, and . . .", shortly before preceded by "its three roots" (6Q8 2 3), presumably of the one tree that survived the angelic cutting down of all the others.⁵⁵ However, none of these texts suggests the picture of a park with water, pavilions and walking amenities.

The latter possibility must have been a feature of at least some *paradeisoi* in the Hellenistic era, since the learned Byzantine bishop Photius defines *paradeisos* as: "a place for walking (*peripatos*) with trees and water" (*Lexicon* 383.2), which comes very close to the description of *Genesis*. As we have seen (§) Lysander walked with Cyrus the Younger in his *paradeisos*; in the book *Susanna*, which is perhaps to be dated to the later second century bc,⁵⁶ *Susanna* also walks in her

⁵² P. Gentelle, "Un 'paradis' hellénistique en Jordanie, étude de géo-archéologie", *Hérodote* 4 (1990: *non vidi*); N. and P. Lapp, "Iraq el-Amir", in E. Stern (ed.), *New Encyclopaedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land* (New York, 1993) 646–9; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 111f.

⁵³ Posidonius *FGH* 87 F 70; Josephus, B $\mathfrak{J}$ 1.361, 4.467 and A $\mathfrak{J}$ 15.96.

⁵⁴ F. García Martínez, *Qumran & Apocalyptic* (Leiden, 1992) 114f.

⁵⁵ L.T. Stuckenbruck, *The Book of Giants from Qumran* (Leiden, 1997) 200–3.

⁵⁶ For *Susanna* see H. Engel, *Die Susanna-Erzählung* (Freiburg and Göttingen, 1985); A. de Halleux, "Une version syriaque révisée du commentaire d'Hippolyte sur

husband's *paradeisos* (7, 36), which was enclosed (17, 20) and even contained a place to bathe (15, 17). The presence of walking possibilities probably explains why Lucian called the Platonic Academy a *paradeisos* (*Vera Historia* 2.23) and why the Rhegion *paradeisos*, which had been planted by the tyrant Dionysius I of Syracuse, was turned into a gymnasium.⁵⁷ Photius adds that comic authors (*PCG* Adespota 523 Kassel-Austin) even used the term *paradeisos* for highly insensible individuals—people one could trample on. Unfortunately, he does not specify them, but we probably have to think of New Comedy, that is of post-Achaemenid times, since such walking possibilities are mentioned only once regarding the Xenophontic wild parks. Trees, as we have seen, were already an outstanding feature of the Persian *paradeisoi* and they would remain so all through ancient history, from Xenophon to the *Historia monachorum in Aegypto* and Procopius.⁵⁸ Even the talking trees met by Alexander in India were situated, naturally, in a *paradeisos*.⁵⁹

In Roman times the *paradeisoi* became even more cultivated, as appears from the *paradeisoi* in the second-century Greek novels of Longus and Achilles Tatius. There are still springs and trees, both barren and fertile ones, but the landscape has become much more artificial. We now notice the presence of meadows and flowers planted in beds: roses, daffodils and hyacinths; instead of the wild animals of earlier times the “paradise” is now inhabited by swans, parrots and peacocks.⁶⁰ However attractive these parks had become, in Roman times the word remained a loanword for the Greeks and it was avoided by fanatic purists.⁶¹

Susanne” and “Hippolyte en version syriaque”, *Le Muséon* 101 (1988) 33–40 and 102 (1989) 19–42, respectively.

⁵⁷ Theophrastus, *Historia plantarum* 4.5.6; Pliny, *Natural History* 12.71.

⁵⁸ Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies* 104. Trees are also an outstanding feature of Greek utopian gardens: *Odyssey* 1.51; Hesiod, *Theogony* 216; Simonides 22.7 West²; Pherecydes *FGrH* 3 F 16.

⁵⁹ *Historia Alexandri Magni* (L, ed. Von Thiel) 3.6.17, which is translated *paradisus* in Iulius Valerius, *Res gestae Alexandri Macedonii* 3.17.526 Rosellini. one of the very few Latin passages where *paradisus* means a profane park.

⁶⁰ Longus 4.2–4; Achilles Tatius 1.15, whose horticultural description is used in Byzantine times, cf. O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna, 1942) 11–21; see also Aristaenetos 1.3.

⁶¹ Scholion on Lucian, *Vera Historia* 2.23. For the practise of purism in Roman times see now C. Charalambakis, “Zum Sprachverfall in der griechischen Antike”, in G.W. Most et al. (eds.), *Philanthropia kai Eusebeia. Festschrift für Albrecht Dihle zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen, 1993) 36–45; S. Swain, *Hellenism and Empire* (Oxford, 1996) 17–64.

Admittedly, in the Roman period the Persian royal hunts were still remembered, but, interestingly, they were now quoted in a negative way. Apollonius of Tyana declined to join the Persian king in hunting in his *paradeisoi*, since it gave him no pleasure "to attack animals that have been ill-treated and enslaved against their nature" (1.37). Dio Chrysostom even lets the good king abhor the "Persian hunt", although he considers hunting an excellent preparation for war: "those people (the Persians) would enclose the game in *paradeisoi* and then, whenever they wanted to, killed the game as if it were in a pen, showing that they neither sought physical exercise or danger, since their game was weak and broken in spirit" (3.135-7). The thought is perhaps far-fetched, but is it totally impossible that in these protests against killing enslaved animals there is something of a hint at contemporary Roman *venationes*?

It cannot even be excluded that the detractors of the "Persian hunt" had heard about contemporary hunting *paradeisoi* further to the East, since an event in the Persian expedition of Julian the Apostate demonstrates that these had continued to exist. The historian Zosimus relates that in the neighbourhood of Meinas Sabatha, a city near the Naarmalcha canal which runs between the Euphrates and the Tigris, the Roman army came "to an enclosure which they called the 'King's Chase'. This was a large area enclosed by a small wall and planted with all kinds of trees, in which all sorts of wild animals were locked up. These received more than plenty of food and offered the king very easy opportunities for hunting whenever he wanted" (3.23.1-4). From the parallel notice in Libanius (18.243) we gather that the "*paradeisos*" was situated close by the palace. In fact, this is perhaps the best description of what a hunting *paradeisos* will have looked like with the obligatory elements of the enclosure, trees and wild animals, which Ammianus specifies as lions, bears and boars (24.5.1f.). The vicinity of the palace is already well attested in Xenophon (§ 2), in *Chronicles* (the case of Manasseh: § 4), in Ptolemaic Tebtunis (above), and in *Susanna* (Susanna's very wealthy husband's *paradeisos* is adjacent to his house: 4). The vicinity remained a feature of Persian grandees in the novel, where the combination of palace and *paradeisos* already points to the courtly parks of later Persian, Islamic and Byzantine magnates (note 27).⁶²

⁶² Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 110 compares Chariton 4.2.8 and Heliodorus 7.23.

Let us conclude our observations on Persian hunting with a few more observations. When the Persians started to conquer Greece, they occupied the islands of Chios, Lesbos and Tenedos, one after the other, and caught the people as with drag-nets in the following manner according to Herodotus: "having joined hands, the men stretch right across the island from north to south and then move over the whole of the island, hunting everybody out".⁶³ In this case the prey were people, but the great Swiss scholar Karl Meuli adduced a number of examples from early to early modern Chinese and medieval Mongolian sources to show that indeed Oriental rulers used their armies as enormous battues in order to surround large animals and kill them. By analogy we may presuppose similar battues for the Persians, since in a source neglected by Meuli, the *Sayings of the Desert Fathers*, we are told that Abba Milesius met two sons of the Persian king who had gone hunting "according to their custom. They spread nets around a wide area; at least forty miles, so as to be able to hunt and shoot everything that was found inside the nets".⁶⁴ The story has no need for beaters, but surely behind the two royal princes there must have been an army of Persians to chase the game into the nets. Herodotus uses the verb *sagêneuo* for the Persian tactic and indeed, the word *sagênê* is also used for the Greek hunt on the tuna-fish, again a tactic to catch as large a group of prey in the nets as possible.⁶⁵ In fact, hunting with nets was so important for the Persian aristocracy that the art of net (*sagênê*) making was part of their education (Strabo 15.3.18).

Meuli also observed that some of these Oriental rulers also made wild parks in order to hunt more at ease—understandably, since their "army hunts" could last up to four months. Consequently, he suggests that the Persians, too, had constructed their *paradeisoî* in connection with their battues. This conclusion is attractive but probably goes too far. The Oriental wild parks are only attested for the Middle Ages and were very large (the one of the son of Dzengish Khan, Ögädäi, had a circumference of two day-journeys), whereas the evidence we have strongly suggests that the average Persian *paradeisos*

⁶³ Herodotus 6.31. For the method see also *ibidem* 3.149; Plato, *Menexenos* 240b, *Laws* 3.698d; Appian, *Mithradates* 285; Herodian 6.5.9ff., cf. K. Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II (Basel and Stuttgart, 1975) 699–729; Briant, *Histoire*, 310–11.

⁶⁴ *Apophthegmata Patrum*, in *Patrologia Graeca* 65, 298.

⁶⁵ Meuli, *Gesammelte Schriften* II, 725.

was much smaller and, at least to some degree, landscaped (§ 2).

It may be sufficient to draw only a few conclusions from this section. First, *paradeisoi* occurred mainly in areas once dominated by the Persian empire. Secondly, the variety of usage of the Iranian "paradise" survived the fall of the Achaemenid empire. Thirdly, with the disappearance of the Persian elite their hunting *paradeisoi* had vanished as well, except for the more eastern parts of the former empire. Fourthly, in the course of time the Graeco-Roman *paradeisos* became more and more artificial.

4. Conclusion

Before answering the question as to why the translator(s) of the *Septuagint*, in the third century BC, chose *paradeisos* to render the Hebrew *Gan Eden*, we have to solve one other problem. Why did the translators not prefer the equally possible Greek term *kêpos*, "garden"? Like the *paradeisos*, the *kêpos* is connected with water (*Isaiah* 1.29), but it is clearly simpler than the majestic *paradeisos* and only the place of "herbs" (*Deuteronomium* 11.10; 1 *Kings* 20.2). This is perhaps the reason that in 2 *Kings* (21.18) King Manasseh was buried in his *kêpos*, as apparently David (*Nehemiah* 3.16LXX), but in the third-century *Chronicles* (33.20) in his *paradeisos*, a version followed by Josephus (*AJ* 10.46).

This impression of greater simplicity is confirmed by what we know about the *kêpos* from other sources. Admittedly, Greek gardens have long been neglected, but recent investigations have considerably clarified their picture.⁶⁶ These gardens were primarily wanted for their productivity and closely connected with residential housing. They were small, walled, intensely cultivated and loved for their vegetables and flowers; moreover, their luxuriant growth often evoked sexual associations.⁶⁷ In other words, for the Jewish translators the word *kêpos* will have hardly conjured up the image of a royal park

⁶⁶ See Olck, "Gartenbau", 783–7; Carroll-Spillecke, *Kêpos*, and "Griechische Gärten", in *eadem*, *Der Garten*, 153–75; R. Osborne, "Greek Gardens", in J.D. Hunt (ed.), *Garden History: Issues, Approaches, Methods* (Washington, 1992) 373–91.

⁶⁷ This is especially true for the meadow, cf. J.M. Bremer, "The meadow of love and two passages in Euripides" "*Hippolytus*", *Mnemosyne* IV 28 (1975) 268–80; S.R. Slings, in J.M. Bremer *et al.*, *Some recently found Greek poems* (Leiden, 1987) 45; D.L. Cairns, "The Meadow of Artemis and the Character of the Euripidean *Hippolytus*", *Quad. Urb. Cult. Class.* 57 (1997) 51–75.

worthy of Jahweh.⁶⁸ That is probably also the reason that Alci-noos' Utopian garden in the *Odyssey* (7.114–31) is compared with paradise only once in the whole of early Christian literature.⁶⁹ Still, in some places the difference between *kêpos* and *paradeisos* may have been relatively small, and in first-century Tebtunis we actually find a *kêpoparadeisos*.⁷⁰

But if the translators preferred *paradeisos*, which "paradise" did they have in mind: the Persian one (§ 1), the early Greek one (§ 2), or those in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt or contemporary Palestine (§ 3)? We can most certainly discard the old Persian meanings of storage room or vineyard and the usage attested in Xenophon, since neither God nor Adam display any interest in hunting nor do they drink alcohol. We can almost certainly also neglect the *paradeisoi* of later Hellenistic and Roman Egypt, since they were too small, too simple and too utilitarian to be worthy of Jahweh. This leaves us the contemporary royal *paradeisoi* in Hellenistic times, as they are somewhat dimly visible in various descriptions: royal parks with many trees, suitable for walking, less wild than their Persian predecessors but more foresty than their later Roman descendants.

Such parks of course fit the time of the *Septuagint*, which started to be translated in Alexandria in the second quarter of the third century BC.⁷¹ Unfortunately, our knowledge of early Alexandria is too sketchy to point with any certainty to a royal *paradeisos* in the time of Ptolemy II.⁷² Yet there is a clear indication for an association of Jahweh's *paradeisos* with the world of the Ptolemies. A decade ago the papyrologist Geneviève Husson drew attention to the translation of *Gan Eden* in *Genesis* (3.23) as *paradeisos tês tryphês*.⁷³ As she

⁶⁸ For the kingly aspects of Jahweh see now A.M. Schwemer and M. Hengel (eds.), *Königsherrschaft Gottes und himmlischer Kult im Judentum, Urchristentum und in der Hellenistischen Welt* (Tübingen, 1991).

⁶⁹ As is observed by C. Riedweg, *Ps.-Justin (Markell von Ankyra?)*, *Ad Graecos de vera religione* (bisher "Cohortatio ad Graecos") II (Basel and Berlin, 1994) 440.

⁷⁰ *PSI* VIII 917.5; *P. Mich.* V 282.3 (the same garden!).

⁷¹ See most recently P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* I (Oxford, 1972) 689–94; E. Bickerman, *Studies in Jewish and Christian History* I (Leiden, 1976) 167–75; J. Méléze Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: from Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Princeton, 1997²) 99–106.

⁷² G. Grimm, "City Planning?", in P. Green et al., *Alexandria and Alexandrianism* (Malibu, 1996) 55–74.

⁷³ G. Husson, "Le paradis de délices (*Genèse* 3, 23–24)", *R. Et. Grecques* 101 (1988) 64–73. For the meaning of *eden* see now J.C. Greenfield, "A Touch of Eden", *Acta Iranica* II 9 (Leiden, 1984) 219–34.

pointed out, *tryphē* was a term much used by the Ptolemaic monarchy to characterise its leisurely life with its prosperity and magnificence. Three kings were surnamed Tryphon and various princesses Tryphaena; in Roman times, *tryphē* even became synonymous with the "good life".⁷⁴ Clearly, the time of the Ptolemies was no longer the era of Cyrus with its physical hardship and sweat, but the world of wealth, leisure and luxury. Behind the *paradeisos* of the heavenly king in the *Septuagint* version of *Genesis*, there loom the cultivated *paradeisoi* of the all too earthly rulers of contemporary Egypt.

APPENDIX: "PARADISE" IN CYPRUS

According to the *Etymologicum Magnum*, the Cypriots had their own term for a "paradise": *ganos: paradeisos hypo de Kyprion* (223.47). The lemma (223.42ff.) derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* (300.16–20 De Stefani), which in turn derives from the Middle Byzantine *Lexicon aimôdein* (gamma 3 b–8 Dyck), which explains Agathias, *Hist.* 2.28, although this passage does not contain the "Cypriot" information.⁷⁵ On Cyprus, the term perhaps occurs in *ICS* 309.12 (*ka-no-se*);⁷⁶ another possibility may be an inscription from Mytilene (*IG* XII.2.58.(a) 17). Traces of the same lemma occur in Hesychius, s.v. *ganos: paradeisos*, which Kurt Latte, its most recent editor, assigned to Diogenianus, on the basis of the occurrence of the same explanation in the *Etymologicum Magnum* (223.47) and the indication of the dialect. Although such a conclusion is valid for some cases, it is not correct in this particular one, since the lemma in the *Etymologicum Magnum* certainly derives from the *Etymologicum Gudianum* and the lemma in Hesychius must derive from Cyril's glossary.⁷⁷ We may also note Hesychius s.v.

⁷⁴ Cf. A. Passerini, "La *tryphe* nella storiografia ellenistica", *St. It. Filol. Class.* 11 (1934) 35–6; J. Tondriau, "La *tryphe*, philosophie royale ptolémaïque", *R. Et. Anc.* 50 (1948) 49–54; H. Heinen, "Aspects et problèmes de la monarchie ptolémaïque", *Ktema* 3 (1978) 177–99 at 188–92; P. Briant, "Histoire et idéologie. Les Grecs et la 'décadence perse'", in M.-M. Mactoux and E. Geny (eds.), *Mélanges Pierre Lévêque II* (Paris, 1989) 33–47. "Good life": L. Robert, *Hellenica* 13 (1965) 187f.

⁷⁵ We now know that the lexicon was called *Etymologiai diaphoroi*, cf. A.R. Dyck, *Epimerismi Homerici II* (Berlin and New York, 1995) 846.

⁷⁶ Cf. O. Masson, *Les inscriptions chypriotes syllabiques* (Paris, 1983²). Unfortunately, the text is mutilated and was destroyed during the Second World War.

⁷⁷ W. Bühler, *Gnomon* 42 (1970) 342, had already observed that Latte underestimated Cyril.

ganea: *képous* and *Etymologicum genuinum* s.v. *ganos*, where the term is paraphrased with *gê*, "earth" (= *Etymologicum Magnum* 221.18ff.).

The conclusion seems to be that the Cypriots had derived their term *ganos*, like some other words,⁷⁸ from their long Phoenician association.⁷⁹ Its meaning was evidently glossed by some lexicographers from a context (contexts?) which now escapes us.⁸⁰

⁷⁸ Cf. E. Masson, *Recherches sur les plus anciens emprunts sémitiques en Grec* (Paris, 1967) 70–6.

⁷⁹ Cf. G. Markoe, *Phoenician Bronze and Silver Bowls from Cyprus and the Mediterranean* (Berkeley, Los Angeles, London, 1985) 7f. For Cyprus in Persian times see J. Wiesehöfer, "Zypern unter persischer Herrschaft", in Sancisi-Weerdenburg and Kuhrt, *Achaemenid History* 4, 239–52; Tuplin, *Achaemenid Studies*, 9–79.

⁸⁰ For information I am much indebted to my friends and colleagues Klaus Alpers, Stefan Radt, Gerrit Reinink, Marten Stol, Eibert Tigchelaar and Jos Weitenberg. Peter van Minnen helpfully commented on the penultimate version and Bob Fowler kindly corrected the English.